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TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 064690

FOR AMB. RAWSON FROM AMB FRIEDMAN

E.O. 12356:56: DECL: OADR

TAGS: AMGT, RW

SUBJECT: OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2 . DAVID, THANKS VERY MUCH FOR YOUR EXCELLENT OVERVIEW CABLE RECEIVED TODAY (3/15). IT IS JUST WHAT WE NEEDED AS WE PREPARE FOR TOMORROW'S ROSG AT THE UN IN NEW YORK. THE MEMO BELOW WAS DRAFTED BEFORE WE GOT YOUR CABLE AND MAY BE OFF ON A FEW POINTS BUT I THINK IT SHOWS WE ARE READING THE OMENS THE SAME WAY.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: JOHN L MILLS
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3. THE ROSG IN NEW YORK WILL GIVE US A TIMELY AND TOTAL PICTURE OF WHERE WE NOW STAND ON SUCH PRESSING ISSUES AS THE WORLD BANK EMERGENCY FUND (THEY TELL US HERE THAT AT LEAST HALF WILL GO TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND GENERATE COUNTERPART FUNDS) AND THE FOOD SITUATION IN THE CAMFS. ONE THING, AND NO SMALL THING I GUESS, I DON'T SEE HOW WE CAN DROP THE RECONCILIATION TRACK BECAUSE A L OUR POLICIES ARE INFORMED AND ROOTED BY THIS OBJECTIVE E HAVE TO PURSUE IT UNTIL WE ARE CONVINCED ABSOLUTE THT IT CANNOT HAPPEN

4 BEGIN TEXT OF BRIEFING MEMO TO GEORGE MOOSE:

THE DIFFICULT SITUATION IN RWANDA PROMPTED THE UNITED NATIONS TO CONVOKE A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE RWANDA OPERATIONAL SUPPORT GROUP AT UN HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK ON THURSDAY, MARCH 16. THE AGENDA FOR THAT CONFERENCE TICKS OFF THE KEY ISSUES FOR THE WORLD COMMUNITY AS IT ATTEMPTS TO HELP STABILIZE THE RWANDAN SITUATION.

THERE IS A LOT OF BAD NEWS COMING OUT OF RWANDA THESE DAYS
ON ONE HAND, THERE IS EVIDENCE OF AN INCREASINGLY ASSERTIVE AND SUCCESSFUL TUTSI HARD LINE WHICH DOES NOT WANT RECONCILIATION WITH THE HUTUS. THE DETERIORATING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UN AND THE GOVERNMENT; INTIMIDATION AND KILLING OF MODERATE HUTUS; THE ARRESTS OF HUTUS WHO RETURN; THE DEADLY CONDITIONS IN THE INCREASINGLY OVER-CROWDED PRISONS WITHIN RWANDA AND THE VIOLENCE IN PARTS OF THE COUNTRY COULD BE PART OF A SYSTEMATIC EFFORT
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TO SHAPE THE COUNTRY TO A VISION OF TUTSI CONTROL.

ON THE OTHER HAND, ATTEMPTS BY THE EXILED HUTU LEADERSHIP TO CONDUCT A VIOLENT CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE RPA GOVERNMENT ONLY ENCOURAGE THE TUTSI HARD LINERS. THIS PAST WEEK THE KIGALI GOVERNMENT CLAIMED TO HAVE BROKEN UP A HUTU BAND INTENT ON PLACING BOMBS IN THE KIGALI CENTRAL MARKET. THE OLD LEADERSHIP APPARENTLY RETAINS ITS STRONG HOLD ON THE CAMPS AND INTENDS TO LEAD A HUTU RESTORATION BY FORCE OF

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ARMS BUT THE MOST LIKELY OUTCOME OF THIS ARMED ACTIVITY IS A SUFFICIENT LEVEL OF VIOLENCE TO MAKE THE CASE FOR THE TUTSI "IRRECONCILABLES" BUT NOT ENOUGH OF A MILITARY THREAT TO FORCE THE TUTSI LEADERSHIP TO NEGOTIATE.

PREDICTABLY, REFUGEE/DP RETURNS HAVE REPORTEDLY SLOWED TO A TRICKLE. LAST WEEK, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MONTHS THE NUMBER OF DISPLACED PERSONS ARRIVING IN RWANDAN CAMPS EXCEEDED THE OUTFLOW. THE UNHCR IN GOMA STILL IS AIMING TO CLOSE THE CAMPS THERE BY THE END OF THE YEAR, FOLLOWING LARGE SCALE REPATRIATION AND MOVEMENT OF THE RESIDUE TO SITES AWAY FROM THE BORDER. UNHCR GOMA MAINTAINS THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT VARIABLE NOW FOR REPATRIATION IS SECURITY AND RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA.

BLANK CHECK, RUBBER CHECK

THERE ARE SOME WHO ATTRIBUTE THE TUTSI INTRANSIGENCE TO THE FAILURE OF INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO MATERIALIZE IN SOME LARGE, TANGIBLE WAY. PROPOONENTS OF THIS VIEW ARGUE

THE HARDLINERS ARE RIDING A WAVE OF RESENTMENT BECAUSE THE
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NEW GOVERNMENT WAS GIVEN A RUBBER CHECK BY THE DONORS. IN FACT THE AD HOC MEETING IN NEW YORK MARCH 16 IS GOING TO DISCUSS HOW TO SPEED UP AID DELIVERIES TO KIGALI.

OTHERS ARGUE THAT THE PROBLEM IS THAT HARD LINE TUTSIS BELIEVE THEY CAN DO AS THEY WISH FOLLOWING THE GENEROUS PROMISES WHICH THE TUTSIS GOT FROM THE DONORS EARLIER THIS YEAR. THE HARDLINERS FEEL THEY CAN NOW PURSUE THEIR AGENDA OF TUTSI DOMINATION. THIS IS THE BLANK CHECK EXPLANATION FOR WHAT IS HAPPENING IN RWANDA.

BOTH THESE THEORIES HAVE SOME VALIDITY. BUT WHAT IN FACT IS FLAYING OUT IN RWANDA IS THE ANOTHER ACT IN THE BLOODY, NO-QUARTERS STRUGGLE BETWEEN TUTSIS AND HUTUS THAT BEGAN THIRTY YEARS AGO. BUT THIS, AS THEY SAY, IS A LONG-TERM PROBLEM. WE HAVE SHORT-TERM REQUIREMENTS FOR ACTION NOW.

HOLDING THE CENTER:

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THE MODERATE CENTER IN RWANDA, AS IN BURUNDI IS STRAINED BY THE PRESSURES OF THE EXTREMES. OUR GAME IS TO TRY TO BUTTRESS THE CENTER AND DISCOURAGE THE EXTREMES. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S ACTION PLANS SHOULD BE CONSTRUCTED ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

WE MUST GET THE AID MOVING. THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT IS BROKE AND MONEY IS THE ONLY WAY TO START FIXING IT. DONORS NEED TO FIND WAYS TO DISBURSE MORE RAPIDLY AND THE GOR NEEDS TO RATIFY THE WORLD BANK EMERGENCY FUNDING AGREEMENT TO GET THAT MONEY MOVING QUICKLY.

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WE MUST GET RWANDANS TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEY HAVE NO BLANK CHECK. WHEN GOR BEHAVIOR FALLS SHORT -- AS IN THE DETENTION CAMPS, AS IN PERSECUTING HUTUS (AS OPPOSED TO PROSECUTING THE GENOCIDAL) -- WE MUST RESPOND QUICKLY AND SHARPLY IF NECESSARY (AS WE ARE DOING THIS WEEK RE: THE DETENTION CENTERS).

WE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE PRESENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS. THE 80 TO 90 ON THE GROUND ARE REPORTEDLY PROVING EFFECTIVE. THE HOPE IS TO HAVE 140-50: THE GOR WANTS 300. YET THE FUND SUPPORTING THE MONITORS IS RUNNING OUT. WE ARE LOOKING INTO HOW WE CAN ADD TO OUR CONTRIBUTION OF DOLLARS 750,000 THE SWedes PLEDGED A CONTRIBUTION OF DOLLARS 129,000 BUT AS OF FE 10 THE HA NOT DELIVERED. HAVE THEY DELIVERED ON THEIR PLEDGE? CAN

THEY DO MORE?

THE FOOD PIPELINE TO THE AREA MUST BE KEPT FILLED. IT IS THREATENING TO RUN DRY. WE HAVE ADDED SOME TO OUR 1995 PLEDGE TO WFP AND ARE ACCELERATING DELIVERIES. BY EARLY THIS MONTH WE HAD SUPPLIED 85 PERCENT OF THE PLEDGES FOR THE REGION RECEIVED BY WFP. GIVEN THE LACK OF RESPONSE BY OTHERS, THE SHORT FALL IN PLEDGES IS SOME 350,000 TONS MUCH BIGGER THAN WE CAN HANDLE. CRITICAL SHORTAGES LOOM IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS AND LATER. CAN THE SWedes HELP? CAN THEY ENCOURAGE THE EU TO STEP FORWARD?

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WE NEED TO ENCOURAGE RECONCILIATION. THE GOR CONTINUES TO RESIST OUR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE SUCH A DIALOGUE, EVEN ONE THAT STARTS AT A VERY LOW LEVEL AND INVOLVES ONLY CIVIL
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SOCIETY. YET WE MUST PERSEVERE IN OUR CONTACTS WITH THE GOR ON THIS SCORE.

WE MUST PURSUE VISIBLE AND EFFECTIVE JUSTICE FOR THE PERPETRATORS OF THE GENOCIDE. THE UNSC HAS JUST PASSED A RESOUTION ENCOURAGING GOVERNMENTS TO DETAIN THOSE AGAINST WHOM CREDIBLE EVIDENCE OF GENOCIDE EXISTS. WE WANT TO ENCOURAGE THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL TO MOVE QUICKLY AND EFFECTIVELY IN THIS AREA. THE SWEDES MIGHT RAISE THIS WITH GOLDSTONE AND WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS. THEY COULD ALSO SUPPORT THE TRIBUNAL WITH JUDGES, PROSECUTORS, OR CASH IF THEY ARE NOT DOING SO ALREADY.

JUSTICE IN RWANDA MUST ALSO BE ESTABLISHED. WE, THE FRENCH, AND THE BELGIANS ARE PARTICULARLY ACTIVE IN THIS FIELD. THE FRENCH REPORTEDLY ARE ABOUT TO BRING 20-30 FRANCOPHONE MAGISTRATES INTO THE COUNTRY. IF WE AND THE OTHER DONORS CAN GET AT LEAST SOME NON-RWANDESE JUDGES AND PROSECUTORS ON THE GROUND IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE IT WOULD ENCOURAGE MODERATES.

WE MUST DO WHAT WE CAN TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS IN THE DETENTION CENTERS IN RWANDA WHICH NOW HOLD PERHAPS 25,000. THE UN, THE ICRC THE GOR AND THE BELGIANS ARE WORKING ON THIS ONE. SITES FOR ADDITIONAL CAMPS HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED. THE BELGIANS HAVE CONTRIBUTED SOME MONEY. WE DON'T KNOW RIGHT NOW HOW MUCH MORE IS NEEDED. WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO HELP FINANCIALLY (AMONG OTHER THINGS WE WOULD HAVE TO USE ESF AND THE WELL IS DRY)

SECURITY CONDITIONS FOR REFUGEE RETURNS MUST IMPROV
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MRS. OGATA'S ZAIRE FORCE IS APPARENTLY DOING WELL THOUGH
IT IS STILL ONLY A FRACTION OF ITS PLANNED SIZE. BUT THE

GOR NEEDS TO TAKE STEPS TO MAKE RWANDA MORE ATTRACTIVE FOR
REFUGEES, A QUESTION OF WILL AS WELL AS OF MEANS AND ONE
THAT NEEDS TO BE ADDRESSED IN CONTACTS WITH THE GOR.

END TEXT

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